



R E N O V A T I O N

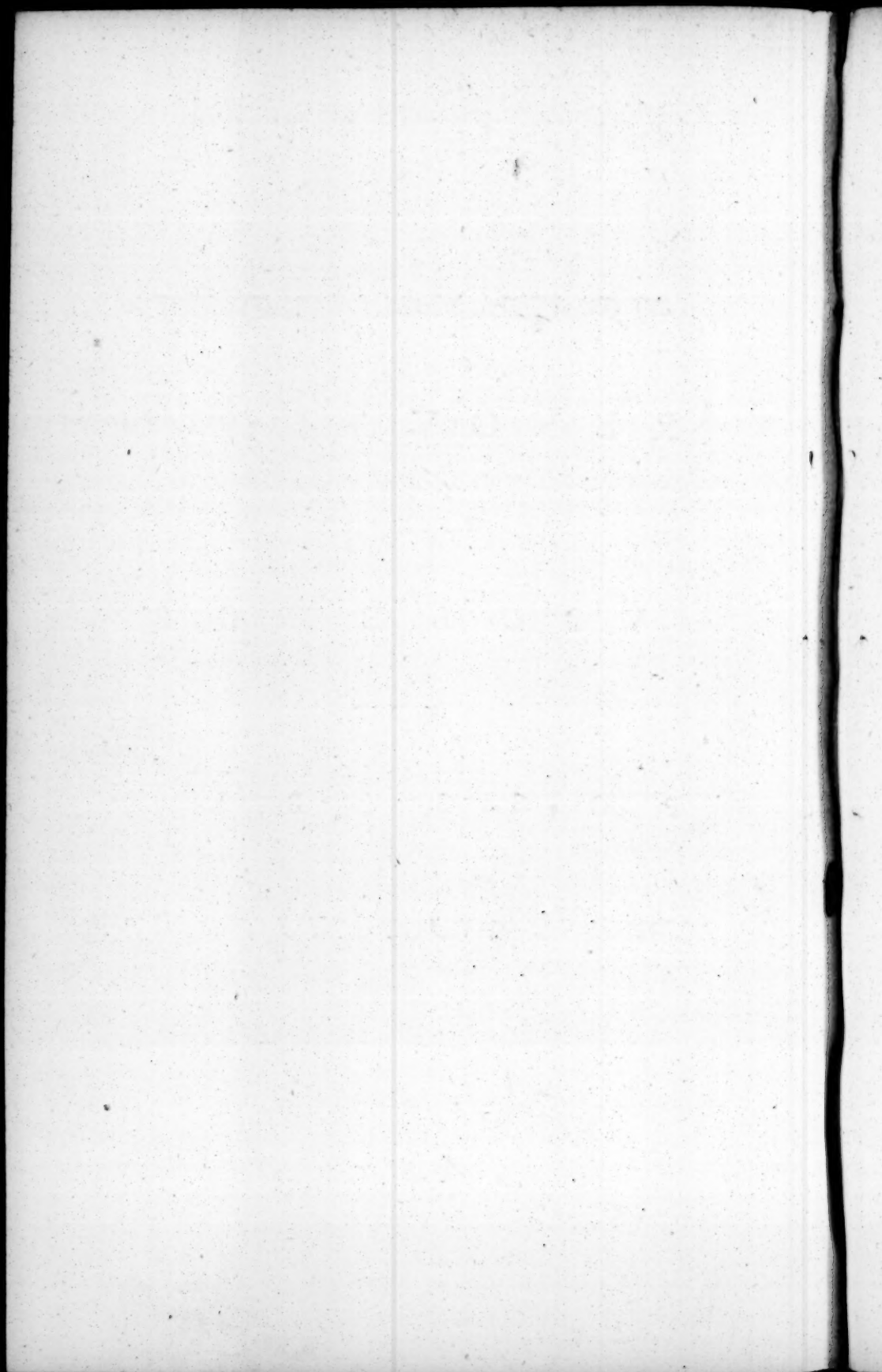
W I T H O U T

V I O L E N C E

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RENOVATION

WITHOUT

VIOLENCE

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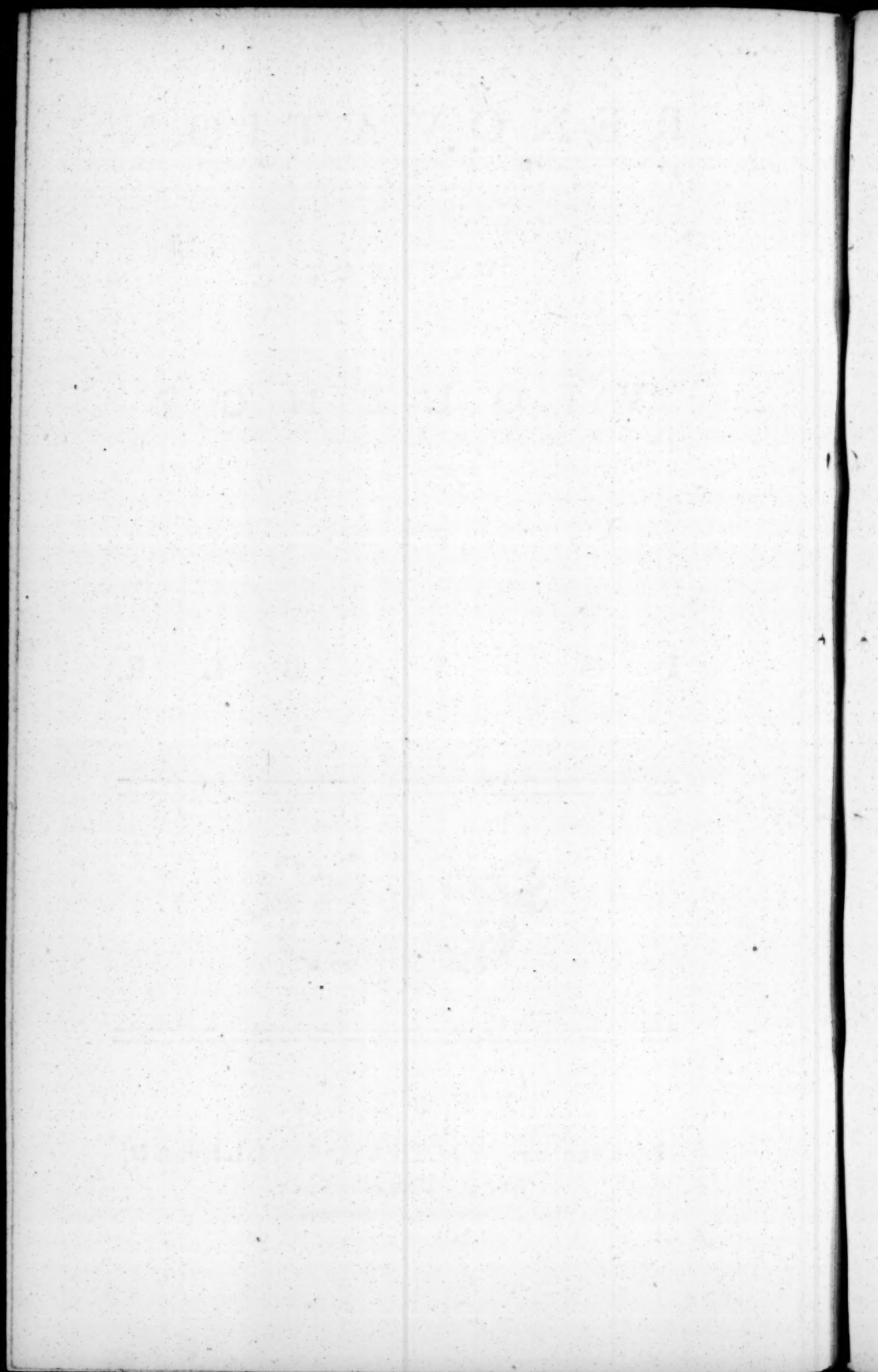
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RENOVATION, &c.

FOREIGNERS of adverse principles speculate with admiration and rapture upon the British constitution, as a peculiar indulgence of Providence for diffusing and illustrating the ideas of civil-liberty, political equity, and all the rational social comforts. Let, then, a citizen of this favoured policy be indulged in communicating some candid reflections upon the probable means of perpetuating, and confirming
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ing such benefits to the possessors, and even of *extending* them (in the genuine spirit of humanity) as far as may be consistent with the interests of the parent-state.

PRESENT times are complained of as an age of politicks;---in other words, that almost every one's thoughts are turned towards publick affairs. Take the fact for granted what doth it prove?---Surely, that there is *somewhat* at present in our political situation uncommonly interesting, which excites and attracts general attention.-- May it not be prudent then to endeavour to extract some good out of the evil, or, perhaps,

haps, even to turn the misfortune to advantage? A fortunate thought concerning publick measures may occur to one from whom it is not expected; and if communicated with becoming decency, cannot be reprehensible. In this train of thinking, and with this view solely, the following reflections, arising from, and relating to the present situation of our national interests, are submitted to the consideration of the impartial publick.

IT will be allowed me to take for granted, that the British empire and its several dependencies, cannot long continue in their present state of
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confusion and ferment.--Some settlement or other *must* shortly take place; and the more maturely that settlement be considered and digested, the more firm and permanent, and beneficial to all parties concerned, it must surely prove. That a *general system* may be formed, certainly advantageous to all the component members of the empire, is as evident as that united powers are stronger than dispersed; and I will presume to assert, that there is no want of political knowledge at this day in England, to construct and form such a comprehensive regulation as may unite all the distracted forces

forces of this widely-extended empire in the common cause of mutual defence ; and in the still more extensive and liberal cause of human liberty, and the unalienable rights of mankind.

BUT who shall stand forth to deliver his sentiments upon so vast a subject?---Why---some person must make a beginning ; and to excite those who may be better informed, accept, in God's name, the following rude sketch---

SUPPOSE then, that the several distinct parts of the British empire, Ireland, America, and even the East-

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India

India Settlements, (the two latter being first sub-divided into such distinct provinces as should be deemed most convenient) were all firmly united as *Confederate States* with Great-Britain;---each of the remote members to send a certain number of representatives to sit in the great *Common* Parliament of the empire, at London -- to consult jointly upon the general interests of the confederacy, and to adjust the quota of supplies to be furnished by each part to the Common-Fund, the treasury of the empire ; whilst every province should retain its own distinct parliament, to regulate its interior police, and

and the proper means of raising its proportion of the general supply.---
 A perfectly equal freedom of trade to prevail throughout the whole empire, with a religious establishment of the most liberal and comprehensive nature, so as probably to leave but few dissenters. And together with this establishment (which should not be supported by tythes or any tax upon industry) the most ample toleration that publick security would possibly admit of. It will be at least an innocent amusement to speculate a little upon the probable consequences of so liberal a constitution.

AND Ift, as to the ftrength and fecurity of fuch a confederacy --- I contend, that the disjointed forces of this empire, being heartily united for mutual defence (for a common *interest*, which all fincerely felt their own) would be able, even at prefent, to refift any force that there is a probability of being brought againft them. The recent efforts of America, leave, (I apprehend) no doubt of this. But the daily additions of ftrength and vigour to fuch a liberal and honourable ftate, by the continual influx of the free, and active, and manly fpirits from all other nations, are beyond the reach of human calculation.

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THAT such perfection of liberty and security of property, would powerfully attract the more enlarged minds from every other quarter of the globe, is, I think, as certain, as that any one moral cause should produce its correspondent effect.

NOR can I hesitate to conclude, that the very dispersion and distance of the associate-members would add considerably to the common strength. If this, at a first glance, should appear paradoxical — recollect that the military force of such an empire must consist chiefly in its *marine*; and that the number of ships and
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sailors, and the excellence of both, will naturally be proportioned to the quantity of commerce carried on between the distant parts of the union, and the number of persons employed in maritime occupations. -- I think we may affirm, therefore, without danger, that such a naval power would shortly become so formidable, as to be able to resist, or rather to be out of all danger of being attacked by any enemy.

FOR, let any man consider impartially the nature and extent of that commerce, which must (I will say) *necessarily* be carried on between, the so remote, but united, members
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of the confederacy, -- the diversity of climates, and productions, and manufactures, and yet unavoidable intercourse and community of *laws*, and *language*, and *customs*, it would be a scene of commerce hitherto unknown to the world -- and mutually beneficial, in a degree not easy to imagine; as the strictness of union and *sameness* of *civil-rights* and *interests*, would render every part of this traffick virtually a *domestic* or *home-trade*.

SUCH is my general idea -- that the genuine spirit of the *British laws* and *constitution*, and *commerce*, and *religion*, should be diffused through
a num-

a number of most intimately-*confe-*
derate nations, united under a com-
 mon monarch; empowered, like his
 present M--j--ty, to employ the force
 of the whole when and where ne-
 cessary for their general protection;
 assisted by such a council as *he* should
 chuse, and supported by a legisla-
 ture (of lords and commons) as-
 sembled around him from all parts
 of his dominions. -- No matter how
 remote any one of the United Pro-
 vinces lay; nay, if Mr. *Carver's* idea
 of a settlement in the South-sea
 should ever succeed, I contend that
 this associate might both communi-
 cate and receive additional vigour
 and advantage.

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I AM not to be told that the forming of such a confederacy would require exceedingly great wisdom and abilities: but I have much confidence in human abilities, when fairly and manfully exerted. Shew me the degree of *spirit* requisite for the undertaking, and I shall be little solicitous about the success. -- Nay, even *I* will presume to mention a mode by which the difficulty of the execution may be much lessened, and by which any original errors may afterwards be corrected without any alarming degree of difficulty or danger.

DETERMINE upon, and ascertain,
at the formation of this confederacy,

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some reasonably distant *fixed periods* for bringing all *back* as it were to their *first principles* and *original compact* -- *legal, constitutional* epochs of *renovation*; when all and each of the united states should be perfectly free to withdraw from the association, if any judged itself really aggrieved; -- and when such corruptions as had crept into the administration might be peaceably redressed without tumult or violence.

I AM perfectly aware that *ministers* may not much relish such *stated renovations*; but I am enquiring what is *right* and practicable to a reasonable degree of virtue; -- and as to
 minif-

ministers of *venality* and *corruption* sneering at the enthusiasm of such Eutopian reveries -- I will be bold to say, that they cannot despise my *intellects* more than I condemn their *hearts*.

SOME such pre-determined periods, then, as above-mentioned, I persist to be indispensably necessary and essential to the equity (and consequently to the firmness) of any political union; more especially to the *union of states* of very different natural force. Recollect for an instant that union with which we are best acquainted:---not to mention the Amphyctionick, Hanscatick, Helvetic or Dutch confederacies.

WHO on this day could presume to determine what proportion of the common expences *Ireland*, or any sub-division of *America*, or the *Eastern Associate* proposed, ought to contribute even *seven* years hence, after an unlimited freedom of trade? The idea may be *new*, but if *just*, truth will gradually make its way.

BUT would it not follow, that some of the confederate states might probably wish to dissolve the connection, at such periods as here proposed, and thereby greatly embarrass, and throw the others into confusion?

I HAVE considered, and am not in the least apprehensive of this consequence;

sequence; for the greatness and prosperity of the *whole* depending upon the *union* of powers and interests, it becomes the obvious *self-interest* of every part to preserve all the members as united as possible; that is, to proportion the common burthen as fairly and equitably to the abilities of each, as the nature of things will allow; and to draw forth and afford full scope and exertion to the several powers of every confederate. ---When this is done, there will be little cause of complaint, nor any tendency to separation of interests. But instead of argument or further discussion of this point,---look at the

Dutch

Dutch and *Swiss* confederacies; and I apprehend the question will require little further examination.---

To resume our theory then of appointing originally certain *fixed periods* for reconsidering the state of the united empire, and of all the members, and bringing all back again to the principles of their first contract,---what is there in this (so obviously equitable ordinance) to alarm the fears or excite the jealousy of the parental prime confederate, more than in ordinary meeting of parliament? ministers, we know, dislike trouble; and perhaps wish that even the ordinary *annual*

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supplies could be raised without
 much disquisition or canvassing.---
 but it is the dastardly spirit of this
 trifling age which creates all the ter-
 rors of such bug-bears. Why should
 a truly British senate start at adjust-
 ing the pretensions, and settling the
 various claims of its political off-
 spring, and associate-citizens, thro'
 all quarters of the globe? I firmly
 believe, that such important dignifi-
 ed assemblies, where affairs of so
 great moment were to be transacted,
 would rouse and keep alive the hu-
 man powers; would excite the most
 virtuous emulation thro' all parts of
 the empire; would prevent many of
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the enervating effects of extreme prosperity, and give new force, in some degree, to human nature. Convinced I am, that there is not more trouble, or danger, to be dreaded, than from a meeting of the deputies of the seven united provinces. But consider now for an instant how other branches of the confederacy must probably receive and be affected with such a *tender of alliance*.

AMERICA surely must readily accept, and rejoice in, a proposal, which puts an effectual end to the now idle and miserable dispute about the *word dependence*; which grants all, and more than she has ever laid claim

claim to ; and whilst it reconciles brethren and friends, elevates their impoverished drooping country to a level and political equality with England. It strikes me that the continent of North America (exclusive of Canada) might conveniently be divided into three provinces ; each of which should *elect* and send a certain number of representatives to sit in the *general house of commons at London* ; nor could there, I conceive, be any material difficulty in forming an *upper assembly*, in plain English, a *house of lords*, in each province ; and even in fixing a liberal *religious establishment* to be supported entirely by *lands*.

IRELAND also, would surely rejoice in the idea and unknown benefits of a free and equal trade ; and will soon be able to contribute effectually to the common expence, without breaking in upon the real commercial advantages of Great Britain, in any one instance.

THE settlement of the East, and why not the West Indies, upon a similar footing, is a matter which would not occasion insuperable difficulties to a great mind. Chatham, I am convinced, would have delighted in the employment. Every part of the scheme, I persist, is certainly practicable: Time will shew

shew whether a better hath been pursued.

AND now let us examine candidly whence the difficulties may proceed of carrying the plan, here proposed, into execution.

THE commons of England, it may be thought, would be too numerous by the addition of so many new members -- But let so many *rotten boroughs* be lopt off as may make room for the additional extra-associates.--Would not the constitution of the parent-state be avowedly relieved and envigorated by the amputation?

BUT shall American and Irish, &c. &c representatives be admitted to determine upon the interior interests and concerns of Great Britain?-- No, if you dislike it: Let the peculiarly English members do their own business, like the parliaments of the other states; but let all deliberate and decide jointly upon the *common* interests of the empire.

BUT shall then America and Ireland be admitted to a free participation of that commerce, the establishment and protection of which has loaded England with such an immense debt? Shall they partake of the benefits without bearing any
part

part of the burthen? -- Far be such an idea from any liberal, equitable mind. Let the burthen be fairly proportioned and distributed according to the real abilities of the several united powers, and no part of the empire, I am firmly convinced, shall have just cause to complain of the weight. But I speak of the interest of the *present debt*, exclusively of that abomination of corruption, that infamous aggregate of useless places, the source of all our political calamities, no part of which any other nation can possibly be expected to submit to. I must again repeat, that I pay not the least
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attention to what may be palatable to certain persons. A short time may render that *necessary* which is now sneered at. Reason and justice say, --let Great Britain strike off one million annually, of her infamously debilitating and corroding *civil lists*, together with those receptacles of the poison, the *venal boroughs*, and supposing even one other million of the navy, and other common expences to be undertaken by her confederate allies; I say, the relieving the manufactures and trade of England from such a load, and the consequent immense influx of wealth, must shortly lower interest so as to reduce
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the national debt beyond the conception of our little politicians.

IN fact, the *wealth* of England would soon become the great danger that real wisdom and virtue would have to guard against. Ireland, America, the East and West-Indies, all joining to support the common expences, and all enabled by their growing wealth and trade, to take and consume a tenfold quantity of British manufactures! London, the centre of all the riches and splendor of the empire, consequently of arts, of elegance, of fashions, and of knowledge, would, no doubt, be endangered by luxury and the natural

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ral consequences of affluence and prosperity ; but the activity and vegetation of the members would keep, even the pampered head in health and spirits. It would be such a monarchy in point of splendor and solid prosperity as never yet has existed; and in the hands of providence, would be the means of diffusing right notions of *liberty* and *commerce*, and *civilization* and *pure religion*, thro' the whole circuit of the globe. An idea, surely, not unworthy the attention of a liberal mind.

LET me remark, however, (whilst we have a plan of *renovation*, and
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of *deliverance* from *corruption*, before us) that what of all things should be most strictly limited and guarded against at the very foundation, is the sending out persons from the *parent* state to the different *employments* (especially the *civil offices*) of the *confederate* countries. The reasons of this are surely too obvious to be explained. The *governors*, indeed, or *lords lieutenants*, should be nominated by the crown; and I should wish the *royal* family to supply capable and sufficient deputies. The *military* forces of the whole empire must also be peculiarly con-

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ned with the crown; but all other employments should, with the utmost scrupulousness be filled by *natives*; and I contend, that the difficulty would not be great, of finding a safe and fit method of thus supplying them.

HERE I know the *splendor* and *dignity* of the *crown* will be objected; and if men will suffer themselves to be dazzled with words instead of realities, there is no reasoning upon the subject. But what can be (I will say) so splendid, so truly glorious for any prince upon earth,

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as to be the *first*, the *ruler*, the *conductor*, the *legal* and *beloved* sovereign of the *freest* and *happiest*, and most *powerful empire* in the universe? What can he have to wish for his own magnificence and true greatness, that shall not instantly be complied with? The confederate nations may contend amongst themselves occasionally, about the quota of their respective taxes. It will rest with the crown to regulate and compose their differences. They will, no doubt, at times complain and remonstrate against ministers. Still ministers (in such an empire *able* ones) will

be found; and amidst the contests of the few political leaders, the cause of *liberty* and *truth*, and *justice*, of *free commerce* and general *civilization*, will be preserved secure and sacred. *Corruption* will unquestionably attempt to creep in at every possible inlet; but the stated periods of renovation above-mentioned, will entrap and strangle the monster before it be grown to a dangerous degree of strength: whilst the vigour and manliness of the representatives of *rising states*, contrasted with the narrow debilitated politicks of enervated luxury, will

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rouse and give a spring to even the offspring of effeminacy and decrepitude, and produce a new *vegetation* in, and a *renovation* of, the almost hopeless trunk.

To draw these loose thoughts to a determined and practicable point:

THAT the present period of American negociation, is a favourable crisis for reforming the inveterate abuses of Great Britain, for *renovating* the vigour of its enfeebled empire, and that nothing is wanting to to take this advantage of it, but a due degree of virtuous intention and spirit,

spirit, is as obviously certain as --
our present misery and perplexity.---

A BEGINNING may naturally be made, by the union of the first American province which will negotiate; why not Nova Scotia; the example of which will induce other provinces to come in. The lopping off some decayed boroughs and obnoxious sinecures is so obviously right and constitutional, that nothing but the unhappy exertion of the influence of the c--n can now prevent it; and that exertion in the opposite direction, would as certainly attract the affection and confidence

dence of all the virtuous part of the nation, as it now naturally repels and alienates them.

INDIAN and *Irish* settlements would follow of course; and a few sessions of parliament, perhaps one, might give rise to the empire of liberty and virtue; and stifle in embryo many *secret plans* of *Aristocratical confederacy*.

A word before we part---

To have attempted to rule the British empire *not by a faction*,---to have thrown open the R-y-l favour
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inifcriminate to all who fhould be judged worthy, --- to defire and to have endeavoured to be fovereign and father of the whole nation without invidious diftinctions, or mean jealousies, was truly princely and patriotick, let who will endeavour to mifrepresent fuch conduct.

But to defcend to the infamoufly mean track of corruption. --- to fubmit to purchafe the fupport of the moft profligate; and to procure the means of this, by oppreffing and alienating the hearts of all the virtuous and induftrious;---to have no
friend,

ting off the sources of venality, and presuming magnanimously upon the support and confidence of the virtuous : If there be a heart insensible of the difference, * * * I have done.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE single essential *being* to effect the abolition of *useless employments* and *unconstitutional boroughs*, be this the single criterion of a *patriotic* K--- or minister.

The opposition which shall convince this country that it sincerely aims at this end will be effectually supported: all other opposition is worse than nugatory.

THE admirable Newton expedites the conclusion of his optical discoveries, by *postulating* what had already been proved and known upon the subject: may we not securely postulate the following truths in British politicks? No *place-bill* can be so contrived but that it may be eluded, when the obligation of an *oath* is disregarded.

As far as parliamentary influence is exerted in advancing to employments, it tends to prevent and blast *merit* in the respective *professions*, and extinguishes affection to government.

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ANY establishment, civil or ecclesiastical, that will not reform *acknowledged* abuses, professes to subsist, not by conviction, but oppression.

To attempt to extend prerogative illegally, has somewhat of manliness and spirit in it, like the open violence of robbing on the highway; but to carry matters by skulking *corruption*, betrays the low filching spirit of petty-larceny, and picking of pockets.--Fie upon it. --

To assert that "every man has his price, and may be corrupted," is infamously false and blasphemous.

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The general belief of it would be more destructive to virtue than the entire systems of Hobbes and Rochefoucault : God certainly requires no duty that is not perfectly practicable. In the most abandoned ages of the most profligate states, there have been souls that preferred the consciousness of rectitude to the strongest temptations ; and in Britain, at this day, a great majority, I trust, still believe in a God and the immortality of the soul, in spite of the progress of corruption and infidelity.

F I N I S.

